2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

291 177 132 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 [283] [462] [285] [386] The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito. All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), produced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The present generation still remembers the time when many wore these garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano [796] [881] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 [192] The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impression of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] [386] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá: that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

2: Schaden--58 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 [192] Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kãtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[162] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] [126] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use of the grater.

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mokĩ ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

[462] [252] [192]

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbĩá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbĩá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbĩá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

[262] [192] [432] [114] [224] [178]

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/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the putỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic secsor, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

2: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

59 606 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Concerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the [184] [179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca. 462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and 415 mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

462 415 101 114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Pañ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Pañ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a
462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista
[184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living
[178] with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

[184] Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they
[597] have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*surakuá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokué* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBira* (?), and *aratiçá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cõuí* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *yuá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

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doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapéi*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapéi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[a] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cãuí'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapéi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cãuí'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cãuí'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakí'* (or *adjaká*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[a] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *ukeeti* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[a]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Paí," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[b] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[c] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[d]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[e] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[a] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [b] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [c] Ibid., p. 705.
[d] Ibid. [e] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[a] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guaraní tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[b]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or lat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[c]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayuá,[d] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[e] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *awabod*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeta* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[a] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [b] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[c] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guairá women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the colonies. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to foreclose the industry in their female wards.

[d] Métraux, 1928, p. 71. [e] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-69.

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closed off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapéi* apparently housed so many occupants that to undisciplined European observers such as Ranger[6] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

Adding to the impression of the *tapéi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapéi* (perhaps group of *tapéi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapéi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapéi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapéi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been correlated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [nd] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapéi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapéi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokué*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are indications that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapéi*'s *kokué* plantation were separately assigned to the several component elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *chuí* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapéi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapéi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[6] Ranger, 1855, pp. 128, 130-131.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 S344 Guarani S344

allotted work and fields by which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mainly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practising the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political avenues of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with pure labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring cochineding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of maize, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow ghetto. The Spanish colonists complained that the Jesuits must have taken treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt soldiers for the towns of the Spaniards, not for the raptd of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 B&A Courant B&A

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark 175*
genipá, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the 302
writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose.
No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright 178*
colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make 237
colorful little switches and tassels to decorate wooden combs (borrowed from 501
Spanish ones), rahrahki, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used
with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples
of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia,
however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be
associated with the aboriginal Tupí of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, 178*
mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs *for chief* are still made. The 352
wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, 415
and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. 531
The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to
the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost some of their 178*
utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, 415
as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for
pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for crushing sugar
cane for its juice. The use and the methods have so challenged the manufacture (258)
of chief troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and con- (322)
verted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning (271)
their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the
tree grew. There is little question that the present ceremonial *chief* troughs at
Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and
they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in
relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any
technological factor.

Basketry, man's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared 177*
with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, exact infor- 178*
mation is available. Firedrum, women's back carrying baskets with woven 285
tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many
sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation (642)
has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven cotton strainers
and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now
used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include rahrahki gourd 177*
rattles, nohongá (stamping tubes of tapuera), clay musical bows, flutes and 178*
wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such in- 534
struments as the musical bow, although white contamination is not indicated as
their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

[illegible (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become [illegible] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less productive than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupí-Guaraní. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapirí, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times.

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not so large as that of *kokué* owners. But in the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokué* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering.

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the

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[illegible] The Cayuá at Taquapirí are sometimes of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking bouts with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more isolated upriver hosts. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "day of rest."

3: Watson E-6,5 (1963) 1952 Bk14 Chaverol Bk14

primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the weaklessness of guards; a woman must never so much as walk through a guard patch because her very smell could spoil the guards (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or leaving shapes such as to render them useless for battles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are considerable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for the daily meals is clearly a female one.

Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87-91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puhiko*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3: Watson E-4.5 (1963) 1982 Ehrl Council Ehrl

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puhcáo* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupí-Guaraní peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was [476]
[illegible], an early, well-functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puhcáo* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *chuí* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, as kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puhcáo*. Women [462]
may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time.

Puhcáo work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puhcáo* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puhcáo* by close relatives, [596]
father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution.

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puhcáo* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puhcáo* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puhcáo* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puhcáo* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *chuí* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as pons and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *puhcáo* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

[178] joint with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing
226 and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man
476 will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may
224 also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear
594 certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

[177] A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed
[178] formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different
463 forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[39] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

• [462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the white. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[178] 2.86 439 438 462 463 [178] 465 [462] [323]

[39] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for him for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[68]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[69]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *hokud* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pulirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pulirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cõuí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[68] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[69] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cõuí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokué* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokué* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokué* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[184]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokué* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

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vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[184] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differentiation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alternatives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own production as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen.

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[188]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture."

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[189]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

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[188] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *kokwá*.

[189] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

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[180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 133).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1948) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *changa* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *changa* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of *maíz*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
182 *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 43 181 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

*177 182 • 462 595 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have become considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

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[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342 351 415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

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FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapdi* at Taquapurí. Log tanks for *cauí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cauí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

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FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbujirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapdi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns • 462 other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [473] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his roça to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changueur* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

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The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

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[482]
[241]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 Sh44 Guarani Sh44
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the men, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [240]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The chicha-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the chicha which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her chicha is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuit, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary ac- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.